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American School
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A DORYPHORUS ON A RED-FIGURED LECYTHUS

[PLATE XVII]

THE Attic red-figured lecythus¹ here published is in the National Museum at Athens, and is interesting for several reasons. It shows an ephebe in the walking pose of the Doryphorus of Polyclitus, but antedates that statue by some years. The vase is also of importance as belonging to the rare class of red-figured lecythi with representations of the funeral stele.² I propose first to discuss the meaning of the scene, then to study it with reference to Polyclitus's "Canon," and finally to treat of its technique and the class to which it belongs.

The scene represents a young man walking past a stele from the left, toward which he stretches out his right hand. With the other he balances a pair of spears over his left shoulder and holds the bridle of his horse. He wears a chiton well girt up, which leaves his right shoulder bare,³ while over his left is slung his cloak. On his neck hangs his petasus. He wears a sword on his left side. The two-stepped stele seems to be a Doric column without abacus, and not simply a slab of

¹ From Eretria, No. 12133. My thanks are due to Mr. Staïs, Curator of the Vase Collection of the National Museum, for permission to publish the vase. The illustration is from a drawing by Gilliéron. The dark red color of the middle fillet and the ends of the upper and lower fillets is represented by dots. The whole middle fillet is red; the other two fillets are white, with red ends.

² The class has been discussed by Weisshäupl, 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1893, pp. 13 ff., pl. ii f.

³ The chiton is worn in the same way by the ephebe on the red-figured lecythus, 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. 1893, pl. iii, which, as will be seen later, belongs to the same workshop, if not artist, as our vase. The folds of the chiton are drawn there with wash color, on our vase with the black varnish. The warrior in the grave relief, *B.C.H.* 1880, pl. vii, wears his chiton in the same way.

marble with a cornice.¹ It is decorated with red and white fillets.

The date of the lecythus may be fixed approximately by the style. The eye of the youth, though now injured, was drawn correctly in profile. The general style is rather free and careless, as if the artist were an excellent draughtsman, but did his work rapidly. The rhythm of the figure and the fiery spirit of the horse are well expressed, and even though every line is not drawn to its proper point, the effect of thin, crumpled drapery is finely attained.

The round head and bodily proportions are paralleled on contemporaneous white lecythi.² The vase belongs, then, to the transitional period when archaic severity is just changing to ease and flexibility; that is, to *ca.* 470–450 B.C. It is difficult to limit the date more closely, though the middle rather than the end of that period suits the style better. It must, however, be borne in mind that a style may continue unchanged for a considerable time.³

The general meaning of the scene is clear. The youth stretches out his hand to the stele in sign of reverence. This motive is common on more than one class of vases.⁴ The

¹ A number of grave lecythi, both white and red-figured, show the funeral monuments in the form of Doric columns, *e.g.* the contemporaneous red-figured lecythus, Athens, Museum, 1298, where the column stands on a base of one step and has an abacus; 1967, a column with three steps; 1795, a later lecythus, where the curving lines of the capital seem to indicate the rounding of the column. Others show what seems rather a flat stele with cornice, 1933, 1934, 1941. When columns of a house are shown they more than once have bases. See the white lecythus 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1905, pl. i, and the "Athena" lecythus, No. 1968. On the latter there is no abacus.

² *White Vases of the British Museum*, pl. v, and several unpublished white lecythi of the Athenian Museum.

³ The tendency has been to put back dates of red-figured vases some ten years earlier than those given a few years ago. The severe red-figured style continues through to *ca.* 470 B.C., and hence those vases with the eye correctly drawn in profile and yet with somewhat severe outlines may be safely assigned to *ca.* 470–450 B.C.

⁴ (a) White lecythi, *White Vases*, pl. 25 A, a youth approaching a stele to which he stretches out his hand; British Museum D 44, a youth leaving the stele looks back and holds out his hand; *White Vases*, pl. 25 B, a woman standing beside her calathus holds out a lecythus. The inscription (Πάτροκλε χαίρε, see *J.H.S.*

representation of an epebe-knight, as traveller or warrior, was a familiar subject on earlier and contemporary vases. It is found on cylices of Onesimus,¹ and of others of the Euphro-nian cycle, as well as on lecythi.²

In interpreting the meaning of the scene there are two possibilities: (a) the youth has come from a journey, or is setting out on one, and wishes to pay homage at the tomb of a relative; or (b) he is the typical wayfarer who salutes the tomb as he passes on. The artist has not given us any clear sign which explanation to accept. To be sure the stele is filleted, but the youth himself brings no fillet or offering, though on other vases (*e.g.* Athens, Museum, 1640) such is frequently the case. Nor need the fillets on the stele surprise us, if we accept the second interpretation. It will be remembered that relatives often visited the tomb and decorated it after the death of a person. Popular belief was that the dead haunted the tombs, as we see from the "eidola" fluttering about in scenes where the family decorate the stele.³ Hence the propriety of such worship from the pious traveller. The stranger is often addressed in Attic grave inscriptions⁴ of this time, so that he becomes a sort of

1895, p. 192) is false, as Mr. Bosanquet tells me, though the gesture clearly denotes reverence for the departed. (b) Red-figured lecythus, Athens, Museum, 12119, a hunter carrying a rabbit on his shoulder holds out his right hand with a twig to an ithyphallic herm — a rural Priapus perhaps (the vase is shortly to be published in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.). The walking pose is of an earlier type than that on our vase, but the date is very close. (c) Red-figured pelice, *Cab. d. Méd.* 397, pl. xiv, herm worship. (d) Black-figured oenochoe, *Athen. Mitth.* 1880, pl. xiii, a man stretches out his hand to a statue of an athlete. See for the general subject, Sittl, *Die Gebärden d. Gr. u. Röm.*, p. 305 f.

¹ Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pl. 53 ff.

² Red-figured aryballus, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1893, pl. ii, the epebe with a red petasus moves in a reverse direction to that on our vase, leading his horse. White alabastron, Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften*², p. 103; a bearded man, clad in chiton and himation, with petasus on his shoulder, leads a horse. On other lecythi the epebe rides his horse past a stele, *e.g.* red-figured, Athens, Museum, 1293, or without a stele, as on the later white, Athens, Museum, 1856, 12275. Of the severe red-figured style is the epebe on horseback, Athens, Museum, 1274. A different pose is British Museum D 63, a youth seated on a rock, with his horse facing him.

³ Pottier, *Lécythes Blancs*, p. 50 ff., 74 ff.; Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenb.* pl. 14.

⁴ Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* Nos. 1, 22, 23.

"genre" subject. More than one lecythus stands on that dubious ground between a particular scene and "genre." The typical traveller is not sharply distinguished from the relative. On a grave lecythus a scene with a traveller doing homage to a stele has the same advantage as the offering of the dedicatory statue of the worshipper with his calf in the Acropolis Museum, according to the usual interpretation of that work. It is the perpetuation of a typical reverence for the dead (as the "Moschophorus" represents a perpetual act of sacrifice), so frequently inculcated for the stranger in the inscriptions. On this vase the stranger continues his worship of the dead as long as the vase itself lasts. The second interpretation then, as a genre-like representation of the wayfarer, seems more likely for our lecythus. The vase-painter had a limited number of motives and worked without regard to a particular case. Hence scenes are shown through conventional types, so that one cannot be sure always how far the artist meant a picture to be individual.

The pose of the ephebe on our vase next deserves study, since it so resembles the walking pose of the Doryphorus of Polyclitus. Our vase-painter, however, places the weight on the other foot,¹ and employs the motive of the outstretched hand. Besides, the head of the ephebe is not turned to one side, as is that of the Doryphorus. Nevertheless, the essential thing — the walking pose — is the same in both instances. It is of great importance then, if, as seems certain, the design of our lecythus is earlier than the statue.² Furtwängler³ argued from the "Munich Zeus" and the "Smicythus" base at Olympia that the walking motive was introduced into sculpture before Polyclitus by an artist of the Argive school of Hagelaidas. He denies that

¹ Cf. the "Cyniscus" base at Olympia.

² The Doryphorus, a mature work and one forming the model of a school, can hardly be placed earlier than 450 B.C., and probably a decade later; for the proof that Polyclitus was in activity ten years before cannot put back so early as 450 B.C. an academic "canon." See C. Robert, *Hermes*, 1900, p. 141 ff., for the latest dating of Polyclitus on the basis of the dates of Olympic victors in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus.

³ *Masterpieces*, p. 212, fig. 90.

the Attic school used the motive. Our vase makes it possible that the idea was known and used at an early date also by Attic sculptors — the relief from Pella¹ shows at any rate that the motive in a modified form was early used in other than Argive schools. Though the question be open for discussion in sculpture, we can clearly trace the development of the walking motive on the vases from the awkward strides of archaic art with its stiff joints to the flexible knees and rhythmic body of our ephebe. A moving person is usually taking great strides, or else is shuffling over the ground with both heels fast on the earth.² Easy walking, and especially that state of poise when the weight is entirely balanced on one foot and the body influenced by the rhythm of motion, is unknown.³ The first half of the fifth century was a time of experiment, and the vases serve as a commentary on the few extant works of sculpture. The walking motive was but one of many problems set before the artist. In the case of the Discobolus of Myron there has already been noted a cylix which shows the same idea and must precede it in time.⁴ Our vase adds another example of such precedence of design over sculpture in the round. Not

¹ *Athen. Mitth.* 1883, pl. iv. Collignon, *Hist. de la sculpt. gr.* I, 274, dates it rightly about 450 B.C.

² First pose, Dionysus, Hartwig, *Meistersch.* pl. 32, Furtwängler u. Reichhold, *Vasenmalerei*, pl. 16 f. The artist varies the monotony of the motive by setting the play leg a little to one side as well as back. Second pose, Hermes, in Hartwig, pl. 21.

³ The centre of equilibrium would fall in the line of the stiff leg in our vase, whereas in the earlier walking pose it would lie between the feet. The latter is the case with the relief from Pella. The relief from Argos (*Athen. Mitth.* III, 287 ff., pl. 13) showing the continuance of the type in later Argive art is interesting for comparison, since the ephebe is accompanied by a horse. Furtwängler decided that the relief was a votive one to a hero and not from a tomb, and gave the same use to the Doryphorus. Collignon, *Hist.* I, 490, on the contrary, thinks the latter was set up in a gymnasium. In the *Masterpieces*, p. 228, Furtwängler has changed his opinion and holds that it was a votive statue of a pentathlete set up both at Argos and Olympia.

⁴ Hartwig, pl. 63, 2. The same motive occurs on an unpublished black-figured lecythus with white ground, Athens, Museum, 12533. The design shows the discus-thrower turned entirely around with his upper body, his legs are seen in back view, his left hand is raised above his head, and his right holding the discus is swinging around very far to the rear. All his weight is on one foot.

that vases were in any sense the prototypes of sculpture, but there were necessarily many studies made before the harder work of the plastic art was commenced. In the loss of the great artists' sketch-books the vases give more than one chronological proof that novelties of design were afloat in the art world long before a sculptor carried them out in the round. The merit of a great artist is that he knows how to weld his idea and his material into a perfect whole.

Finally, we must study the use of funeral scenes on red-figured lecythi and their relation to the more common white ones. Weisshäupl, in the article already cited, has collected the examples known to him. Now after a dozen years a considerable addition can be made to his list of eight vases, both in

number and in variety of subject. We can distinguish not only (*a*) scenes at the stele, but also (*b*) those with the preparation to visit the tomb, parallel to a number of white lecythi.¹ The limits of the date of manufacture must also be extended.



FIGURE 1.—ATHENS, MUSEUM, 12133.

It should be said by way of preface that Weisshäupl's No. 8, representing a sphinx on a pedestal, hardly belongs to our class of funeral vases. There are no mourners and the subject seems merely a conventional and decorative one, as on other lecythi we see such a sphinx² or siren.³ Moreover, the lecythus is severe in style and thereby to be grouped with those on which the winged "Nike" and various mythological characters are represented. Weisshäupl's No. 4 I have been unable to find in the museum at Athens. Perhaps his description, derived from the *Δελτίον*, is inaccurate, and it is identical with No. 1639.

¹ *Festschrift f. Benndorf*, p. 89 ff. ; *Bonner Studien*, p. 154 ff.

² Athens, Museum, 1348, Brit. Mus. E 634, 663, etc.

³ Athens, Museum, 1602, 1201.

The lecythi with scenes at the stele fall into well-defined groups, both by ornament and by style. The earliest class includes our lecythus, No. 12133 (Fig. 1), and Athens, Museum, 1637, 1639, 1293, 1640 (Weisshäupl's No. 6, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1893, pl. iii), 12134, Boston, Museum, 445, 446. No. 12134 in the Museum at Athens forms the transition to the next group. This class has the well-established shape of the fine white lecythi with wash outlines, but usually a higher shoulder. On this are drawn three black-figured pal-



FIGURE 2. — ATHENS, MUSEUM, 12133.

mettes (Fig. 2), with dots sprinkled in, on the red ground. These are finely drawn and are of the general shape of those on the contemporary white lecythi. The general technique is precisely that of the other red-figured vases. White and red are sparingly used for details, as fillets and hair-bands. Probably all date very near 450 B.C. The earliest and finest example is No. 1639, whose style comes closest to that of the fine white lecythi with wash designs. The noble grace of the simple poses and the fine drawing of the hands are those of the best vases of that class. The scene represents a bearded man, holding his spear, to the left of an Ionic stele, while a woman stands on the right, facing him. Nos. 1293, an epeube with spears riding past a stele; 1640, a youth and maiden decorating the stele with arms and fillets; and 12133 are very close in style, as though from the same artist or at least workshop. The last two have the same "laufender Hund" pattern below the design. The two Boston lecythi¹ are interesting for several reasons; they

¹ Mr. Bosanquet kindly lent me photographs of these lecythi, as well as those from Palermo mentioned later.

are the only red-figured lecythi with "stelae scenes" found in Gela, for all the rest come from Eretria. They differ a little in style from the two last mentioned, showing a tendency to give many lines to the drapery, but No. 1445 has precisely the same stele as No. 1293. They both have scenes of the "Orestes and Electra" type. No. 1637¹ is shown to be somewhat later by the "acanthus" stele and the careless drawing. It has an "Orestes and Electra" scene, as has also No. 12134. The date of this group may range over 460-440 B.C.

A second and later class is formed by three lecythi, Athens, Museum, 1636,² 1298, 1299,³ which have the same shape as the previous class, except that the foot has no notch at its upper edge. The three palmettes of the shoulder are ugly and heavy in drawing, and the style of the figures is unpleasing. The women in Nos. 1298 and 1636 have the same black stripes on their dresses. The style has degenerated from the earlier one. The conventional ephebe, the bearded man, and the woman with a tray occur.

The third group, Berlin, Museum, 2426, 2427,⁴ Athens, Museum, 12804, shows that the artists of red-figured vases also imitated the later class of scenes at the stele where one figure sits on the steps. The date is *ca.* 440-420 B.C. The first two are twin vases, according to Furtwängler's description. The peculiar use of the egg-ornament in place of the meander is paralleled on other red-figured lecythi.⁵ On Berlin, Museum, 2426, a woman sits on the stele steps, leaning her head on her hand; on No. 2427 is an ephebe. In contrast to these simple scenes, the third lecythus offers us a group of three — a seated woman with a casket, a woman with offerings, and an ephebe. The style is heedless and the ornament ugly. The stele is of the later gabled shape. The motive of the seated woman with her casket is frequent on white lecythi.⁶ Two other red-figured lecythi with funeral scenes I know by the kindness of Mr. Bosanquet.⁷

¹ Weisshäupl, No. 7.

² Weisshäupl, No. 3.

³ Weisshäupl, No. 5.

⁴ Weisshäupl, No. 1, 2.

⁵ Athens, Museum, 1511, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1850, pl. L.

⁶ Benndorf, *Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder*, pl. 15, etc.

⁷ The first, in the Louvre, has a scene of the "Orestes and Electra" type. The

The scenes of preparation to visit the stele are harder to distinguish from simple domestic pictures. A lecythus with the inscription Γλαύκων καλός¹ represents a seated woman holding a wreath, while her maid gives her a tray. This is probably merely a domestic scene, and yet might easily be classed with the funeral scenes. Another lecythus² is more clearly marked. We see a seated woman with her head bent over a tray; a mirror with fillets hangs in the background. Two lecythi from Gela, now in Palermo, are interesting from their provenience. On one a woman holds an alabastron; on the other, a casket. There are many of these dubious scenes, as Athens, Museum, 1343, 1344, 1648, 1598, 1275, 1502, etc. The difficulty of determining the meaning of the scene is that women used fillets for various purposes, looked in their mirrors or caskets, and carried alabastra, as well as plemochœae, without implying a "preparation" scene. Weisshäupl's interpretations of figures on the white lecythi have the same uncertainty.³ However, when vases are contemporaneous with those having stele scenes, and, moreover, when they have the same style and ornament, there is at least the presumption that a scene of preparation will have reference to the grave-cult. In earlier times vases with mythological or domestic scenes were placed in the tombs, both as utensils for the dead and as pleasing by their ornament. With the desire for vases more especially suited to the case the stele scenes were evolved. These, like the preparation scenes, were frequent on white lecythi, but the red-figured only have imitations of the former class. The latter are independent in their development from the earlier red-figured domestic pictures.

The red-figured lecythi with funeral scenes date *ca.* 470–430 B.C. Our first group shows an attempt to rival the sucother, seen in the Paris market, represents a warrior and ephebe beside a stele. A number of red-figured lecythi have low slabs resting on one or two steps and figures doing reverence. Probably these are not stelæ, but boundary stones, low altars, or other sacred emblems, hard to define; British Museum, E 604, 631, Athens, Museum, 1296, 12802. They show the adaptation of older scenes of worship, as Athens, Museum, 1345, 1627, 1275, to the types of stele scenes.

¹ Athens, Museum, 1496.

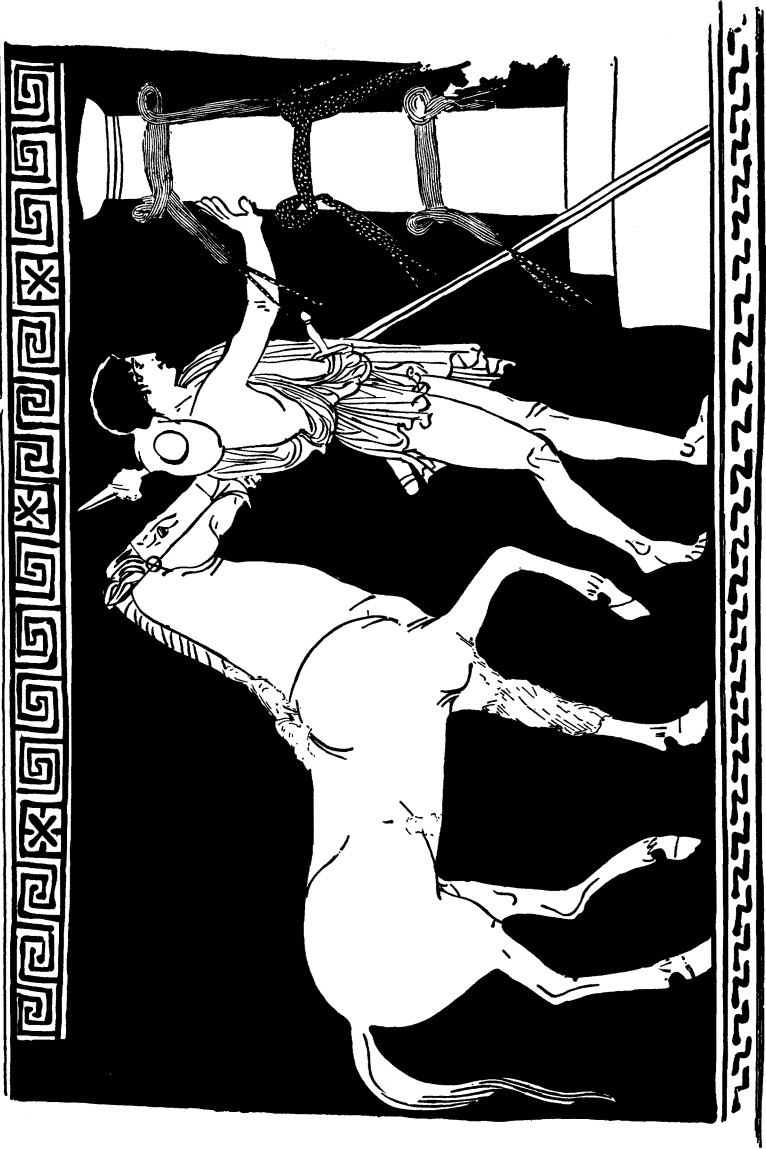
² Athens, Museum, 1312.

³ *Festschrift f. Benndorf*, p. 90 ff.

cessful white lecythi in the old technique, as the "added white" class with "*καλός*" names tries to rival the other white lecythi with only outline drawing. Though some few still clung to the past, the change to the white technique was an artistic necessity with the change to funeral use, and the Attic people as a whole appreciated the advantage. Not only did the white color have a peculiar significance, but the quality of drawing was improved. Our red-figured lecythi, in spite of their careful execution, are therefore but rare. Comparison of the two techniques will illustrate the advantage of the white. In place of depending on fine inner lines and the warm color of the clay, the white vases trust to pure outline and polychromy. The Greeks, as usual, experimented widely, but finally chose the best. As ten years have added new kinds of red-figured lecythi with funeral scenes, so time may bring a complete set of parallels to the white, but they can only count as experiments, not as a real class.

ROBERT CECIL McMAHON.

ATHENS,
May 2, 1905.



DORYPHORUS ON A RED-FIGURED LECYTHUS